

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
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O P 220815Z APR 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9160  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO  
AMEMBASSY BANGUI  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
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AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA 0871  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS  
AMEMBASSY ANTANANARIVO  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY BISSAU BY POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 2765

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, EAID, SY, SR, CG, SG  
SUBJ: FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT OPENS IN DAKAR  
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1. SUMMARY: APRIL 20-21 FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT GOT UNDERWAY  
WITH DELEGATIONS PRESENT FROM TWENTY COUNTRIES. DESPITE  
SUMMIT'S CONCEPTION AS FORUM FOR ECONOMIC QUESTIONS,  
GISCARD D'ESTAING DWELT IN APRIL 20 ADDRESS ON "RIGHT TO  
SECURITY" OF EACH AFRICAN STATE, ADVANCING PRINCIPLE OF  
"AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS" AND ENDORSING REFUSAL OF AFRICANS

TO BECOME STAKES IN HARMFUL FOREIGN COMPETITION ON THEIR CONTINENT.

GISCARD PROMISED CONTINUING FRENCH ASSISTANCE "IN SPITE OF CURRENT DIFFICULTIES." THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SECURITY CONCERNS ARE IMPORTANT PREOCCUPATION OF PARTICIPANTS BEHIND THE SCENES. HOWEVER, WHILE CALLING AFRICA "THE BLOODY CONTINENT," PRESIDENT SENGHOR URGED IN HIS OPENING REMARKS THAT POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS BEST SET ASIDE TO ALLOW SUMMIT TO CONCENTRATE ON "SOLIDARITY FUND," ON FRENCH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND ON FOUR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: INFLATION, DETERIORATION OF TERMS OF TRADE, NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE AND CONVENTION OF LOME. HE ALSO REINTRODUCED IDEA OF REGULAR FRANCOPHONE "COMMON-WEALTH" SUMMITS. CLOSED DOOR WORKING SESSIONS ON FIRST DAY WERE REPORTEDLY EXCLUSIVELY ECONOMIC. ANNOUNCEMENT HAS BEEN MADE THAT "GOOD COMPREHENSION" HAS PERMITTED "ACCELERATION OF WORK" WHICH WILL PERMIT CONFERENCE TO END HALF DAY EARLY. MEANWHILE, PREPARATIONS ARE BEING MADE IN DAKAR FOR APRIL 22 OCAM SUMMIT AND BILATERAL MINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH FRANCE ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION WHICH BEGIN SAME DAY. END SUMMARY.

2. FOURTH FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT BEGAN APRIL 19 IN DAKAR WITH MARATHON FIVE-HOUR ARRIVAL CEREMONY DURING WHICH AIRCRAFT BEARING TEN CHIEFS OF STATE AND MINISTERIAL-LEVEL DELEGATIONS FROM FOUR OTHER COUNTRIES LANDED AND DISEMBARKED THEIR PASSENGERS IN CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED SUCCESSION CULMINATING WITH FRENCH PRESIDENT GISCARD D'ESTAING. EACH GUEST WAS GREETED BY PRESIDENT SENGHOR (OR CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIME MINISTER DIOUF FOR MINISTERIAL DELEGATIONS) AND SENEGALESE CABINET, FOLLOWED BY REVIEW OF HONOR GUARD, NATIONAL ANTHEMS, AND INDIVIDUAL MOTORCADE INTO CITY. CROWDS INCLUDING COLORFULLY COSTUMED DANCERS AND DRUMMERS THROGGED STREETS FROM LUNCHTIME TILL EARLY EVENING. THERE WERE NO ARRIVAL STATEMENTS.

3. CHIEFS OF STATE ARRIVING APRIL 19 ABOARD SPECIAL AIRCRAFT INCLUDED PRESIDENTS OF SEYCHELLES, GABON, CHAD, MALI, IVORY COAST, RWANDA, UPPER VOLTA, TOGO AND NIGER (LATTER THREE OF WHOM SHARED AIR AFRIQUE CHARTER). DELEGATIONS LED BY PRIME MINISTERS OR OTHER CABINET MEMBERS ARRIVED FROM ZAIRE, BURUNDI, CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE AND DJIBOUTI. MAURITIAN PRIME MINISTER AND COMORAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVED COMMERCIALY APRIL 17. DELEGATIONS ALSO PRESENT FROM BENIN, GUINEA-BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE. MOST FOREIGN DELEGATIONS INCLUDED SIZEABLE PRESS CONTINGENTS, AND WASHINGTON POST AND NEW YORK TIMES WERE BOTH REPRESENTED AT BEGINNING OF CONFERENCE.

4. SUMMIT DELIBERATIONS BEGAN APRIL 20 WITH ADDRESSES BY PRESIDENTS OF FRANCE AND SENEGAL. TWO-DAY SCHEDULE CALLED FOR FOUR CONFERENCE SESSIONS INTERSPERSED WITH DINNER AND GALA OFFERED BY SENGHOR AND LUNCHEON GIVEN BY GISCARD. HOWEVER, ANNOUNCEMENT AT END OF FIRST DAY INDICATED THAT "VERY GOOD COMPREHENSION" WHICH EXISTED WOULD PERMIT "ACCELERATION OF WORK," CONCLUDING CONFERENCE AT NOON APRIL 21 INSTEAD OF CONTINUING TILL EVENING AS PLANNED.

5. PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAVE STRESSED THAT SUMMIT'S THEME WOULD BE FRANCO-AFRICAN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY COOPERATION, TO WHICH OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN IMPUTE ALMOST MYSTICAL QUALITIES. IN APRIL 18 PREVIEW FOR REPORTERS COVERING CONFERENCE, SENEGALESE PLANNING MINISTER OUSMANE SECK EXTOLLED "PRIVILEGED COOPERATION" WHICH HAD HISTORICALLY EXISTED WITH FRANCE THROUGH EXCHANGE OF AFRICAN PRIMARY MATERIALS FOR EUROPEAN

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CAPITAL AND TECHNIQUES. SECK PORTRAYED THIS "EUROAFRICAN COMPLEMENTARITY" AS MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL "SYMBIOSIS" WHICH PROMISED CONTINUED CLOSE ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN FUTURE. HE SAW THIS COOPERATION AS RESPONSE TO "DETERIORATION OF TERMS OF TRADE" AND ASPECT OF QUEST FOR NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER.

6. IN INTERVIEW WITH GISCARD (CONDUCTED IN FRANCE) PUBLISHED IN DAKAR ON EVE OF SUMMIT, FRENCH PRESIDENT ASSERTED THAT "THE COEXISTENCE OF PROFOUNDLY UNEQUAL LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT" WAS "THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF OUR TIME." HE SAID THAT, FACING THIS SITUATION, EXPORTERS COULD CAUSE CONFLICTS AND DISEQUILIBRIUM BY MAXIMIZING THEIR PROFITS WITHOUT REGARD FOR CONSEQUENCES (AS WITH MASSIVE INCREASE IN OIL PRICES) OR, ALTERNATIVELY, THEY COULD PURSUE CONCERTATION AND COMMON ACTION. ASKED ABOUT FRANCE'S VIEW OF "TRIANGULAR" COOPERATION COMBINING EUROPEAN TECHNOLOGY, AFRICAN RAW MATERIALS AND ARAB PETRODOLLARS, GISCARD CONGRATULATED AFRICANS ON ARABS' DECISION AT CAIRO SUMMIT TO PROVIDE IMPORTANT AMOUNTS OF AID, AND SAID FRANCE HOPED TO CONTINUE PLAYING INTER-MEDIARY ROLE PUTTING AFRICAN PROJECTS IN TOUCH WITH ARAB FINANCIAL MECHANISMS, AS WELL AS PARTICIPATING ITSELF IN FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL CAPACITY. GISCARD DECLARED THAT HISTORICAL TIES AND COOPERATION HAD CREATED "VERY PRIVILEGED RELATIONS" BETWEEN FRANCE AND FRIENDLY AFRICAN STATES OF WHICH "SENEGAL IS ONE OF THE MOST PRESTIGIOUS."

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7. SENGHOR'S APRIL 20 SPEECH ADHERED TO ECONOMIC THEME. HE  
ASSERTED THAT AFRICA HAD BECOME "THE BLOODY CONTINENT," AND  
WAS BEING DESTABLIZED FOR ESSENTIALLY POLITICAL REASONS. FOR  
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THAT REASON, HE SAID, POLITICAL QUESTIONS HAD BEEN EXCLUDED  
FROM AGENDA. SENGHOR SAID SUMMIT SHOULD SET ASIDE DIVISIVE  
"IMPORTED IDEOLOGIES" AND BUILD ON CONVERGENT ECONOMIC  
INTERESTS AND ETHNIC AND CULTURAL AFFINITIES. HE COMPARED

THIS TO HELSINKI CONFERENCE WHERE EUROPEANS HAD LAID ASIDE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES TO CONSOLIDATE PEACEFUL COOPERATION. SENGHOR OUTLINED SUMMIT AGENDA BEGINNING WITH FOUR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: WORLD INFLATION, DETERIORATION OF TERMS OF TRADE (HE SAID THAT SINCE 1973 PRODUCTS IMPORTED INTO SENEGAL HAD INCREASED IN PRICE BY 234 PER CENT, WHILE EXPORT PRICES INCREASED 50 PER CENT), NORTH-SOUTH CONFERENCE (HE SAID PARIS TALKS WOULD RESUME IN "CLIMATE OF SKEPTICISM AND DISAPPOINTED HOPES") AND APPLICATION OF LOME CONVENTION (NOTING 1977 EEC SCHEME FOR GENERALIZED PREFERENCES IN FAVOR OF 111 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, SENGHOR REMARKED: "WHEN YOU ARE EVERYBODY'S FRIEND, YOU ARE NOBODY'S FRIEND"). SENGHOR SAID SECOND PART OF CONFERENCE WOULD BE DEVOTED TO TWO SPECIFICALLY FRONCO-AFRICAN PROBLEMS: SOLIDARITY FUND AND "INCREASINGLY ENGROSSING" PROBLEM OF FRENCH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. SENGHOR CLOSED BY CITING SUGGESTION OF CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU THAT REGULAR MEETINGS OF FRANCOPHONE CHIEFS OF STATE BE ORGANIZED ON COMMON-WEALTH MODEL.

8. LATER IN DAY, SPOKESMEN INDICATED THAT FIRST CLOSED DOOR SESSION HAD BEEN "PURELY" ECONOMIC. FRENCH ECONOMIC AND FINANCE MINISTER ROBERT BOULIN OPENED DISCUSSION ON INFLATION, IN WHICH POINT WAS REPORTEDLY MADE THAT INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES HAD MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROBLEM AND CONSEQUENTLY MUST DISPLAY REAL POLITICAL WILL IN COMBATING IT. SUGGESTION WAS MADE THAT FRANCE SHOULD BE AFRICA SPOKESMAN IN DISCUSSIONS WITH INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. SESSION THEN DISCUSSED DETERIORATION OF TERMS OF TRADE WHICH WAS INTRODUCED BY IVORIAN PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY: GISCARD AND SENGHOR REPORTEDLY CALLED FOR SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF SITUATION IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

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9. AT AFTERNOON SESSION ON FIRST DAY, FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER LOUIS DE GUIRINGAUD GAVE PRESENTATION IN WHICH HE REPORTEDLY ARGUED THAT NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE WOULD NOT BE CREDIBLE WITHOUT ACCORD ON PROBLEMS ON THIRD WORLD DEBTS AND ON ORGANIZATION OF RAW MATERIAL TRADE. DESCRIBING THEIR EFFORTS TO LEAD DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO "REALISTIC AND GENEROUS" POSITIONS, FRENCH CITED EEC'S SUPPORT FOR COMMOND FUND. QUESTION OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE WAS ALSO TAKEN UP, BUT DISCUSSION OF SOLIDARITY FUND WAS SAID TO HAVE BEEN POSTPONED UNTIL SUMMIT'S SECOND DAY.

10. DESPITE THIS STUDIED EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC PREOCCUPATIONS, APRIL 20 ADDRESS BY FRENCH PRESIDENT HAD STRONGLY POLITICAL FLAVOR, WHICH OBVIOUSLY REFLECTED CONCERN OVER SHABA SITUATION, THOUGH ZAIRE WAS NOT MENTIONED

EXPLICITLY. GISCARD DWELT AT LENGTH ON PROBLEM OF HOW AFRICAN COUNTRIES COULD STRENGTHEN THEIR INDEPENDENCE "IN THE JOUSTING OF FOREIGN RIVALRIES, IN THE GAME OF INTERVENTION, IN THE COVETOUS MELEE." HE ARGUED THAT ONLY POSSIBLE WAY FOR CONTINENT WAS "AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS." HE NOTED THAT THAT CONVICTION REFLECTED THE REFUSAL OF AFRICANS TO BECOME STAKES IN FOREIGN COMPETITION ON AFRICAN CONTINENT HARMFUL TO THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS. "EVERY AFRICAN STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO SECURITY, WITHIN ITS FRONTIERS, WHATEVER ITS POLITICAL CHOICES." GISCARD SAID FRANCE APPROVED THAT "WILL OF INDEPENDENCE" BECAUSE IT HAD HELD SAME VIEW UNDER DEGAULLE AND SINCE. "FOR IT IS THAT INDEPENDENCE...WHICH GUARANTEES THE MAINTENANCE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, OF A DIMENSION SPECIFICALLY AFRICAN, AND OF AN AUTONOMOUS CAPACITY OF DECISION AND ACTION." TURNING TO QUESTION OF FRENCH ASSISTANCE, GISCARD SAID HE HAD RECENTLY DECIDED WITH PRIMEMINISTER THAT "THAT COOPERATION WOULD BE PURSUED IN SPITE OF THE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES, AS WE HAVE PLEDGED TO YOU." GISCARD NOTED THAT FRANCE WOULD PROVIDE HELP THROUGH MULTILATERAL AS WELL AS BILATERAL CHANNELS AND, WITH RESPECT CONFIDENTIAL

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TO NORTH-SOUTH TALKS, HE SPOKE OF FRANCE'S "PATIENT WILL" TO SEE NECESSARY MODIFICATIONS ACCEPTED TO IMPROVE AN "OVERLY UNCERTAIN AND UNJUST" WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER.

11. MEDIA COMMENT ON SUMMIT HAS ALSO INCREASINGLY FOCUSED ON POLITICAL CONCERNS, SPECULATING THAT CATALYST OF ZAIRE WOULD ADD STRONG POLITICAL THEME TO CONFERENCE. AS FORMAL DELIBERATIONS WERE GETTING UNDERWAY, AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK OFFICIAL WHO IS CAMEROONIAN NATIONAL TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD COME TO DAKAR IN EXPECTATION OF IMPORTANT ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL DISCUSSIONS, BUT HAD DECIDED TO LEAVE SINCE IT HAD QUICKLY BECOME CLEAR THAT SUMMIT WOULD BE PREOCCUPIED WITH POLITICS. SPECULATION HAS BEEN SO ACTIVE ALONG THESE LINES THAT, LATE ON APRIL 20, SENGHOR CATEGORICALLY DENIED REPORT ATTRIBUTED TO ALGERIAN PRESS SERVICE THAT COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN DAKAR WERE SETTING UP COMMON MILITARY FORCE TO BE BASED AT ABIDJAN.

12. BETTER COORDINATION IN SECURITY FIELD IS UNDOUBTEDLY A MAJOR TOPIC OF CONVERSATION BEHIND THE SCENES, AS SENGHOR ANTICIPATED EVEN BEFORE SHABA INVASION (DAKAR 0042). BUT REPEATED REITERATION OF DETERMINATION TO CONCENTRATE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES AND PRESENCE OF SUCH STATES AS GUINEA-BISSAU AND CAPE VERDE ARE EXPECTED TO INHIBIT SUCH DISCUSSIONS IN FORMAL CONFERENCE SESSIONS.

13. MEANWHILE, DELEGATIONS FROM OCAM MEMBERS STATES ARE PREPARING APRIL 22 EXTRAORDINARY OCAM SUMMIT IN DAKAR. AT

INITIAL PREPARATORY MEETING, DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS KANDE OF SENEGALESE FOREIGN MINISTRY INDICATED SUMMIT WOULD CONSIDER AMOUNTS OF MEMBERS' CONTRIBUTIONS TO OCAM SOLIDARITY FUND AND PROPOSAL TO OPEN MEMBERSHIP IN OCAM COMMON ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS, AS SUGGESTED BY SENEGAL.

14. FIRST MEETING OF FRANCO-SENEGALESE MINISTERIAL COMMISSION  
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SET UP UNDER 1974 FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION TREATY ALSO CONVENES APRIL 22. FRENCH MINISTER OF COOPERATION ROBERT GALLEY AND HIS SENEGALESE COUNTERPART, OUSMANE SECK, ARE EXPECTED TO EXAMINE OVERALL PROGRAMS OF BILATERAL COOPERATION, PARTICULARLY IN HIGHER EDUCATION, TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC AID AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.  
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